

ANARCHY 15



INSIDE:

SOFT COPS,

SOCIAL WORKERS, ANARCHY in the NAVY,
WHY I'M ANTI-INTELLECTUAL.

CONTENTS

SOCIAL WORKERS..	1
ALTERNATIVE PRODUCTION..	5
SOFT COPS DOWN AT THE SOCIAL SECURITY	8
WHY I'M ANTI-INTELLECTUAL	9
ANARCHY IN THE NAVY	12
LETTERS..	14
REVIEWS	16

If you should want to sell Anarchy in your area write and we'll send you the details.
If you want to write something send it along.
If you want to join the collective come along to a Thursday night meeting at the address below.

This fantastic, super value issue was typed, cut up, stuck down and printed by the Anarchy Collective, and published by Anarchy Magazine, 29 Grosvenor Avenue, London N.5.
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Halfway
to Abolishing Money

NEW SIZE NEW PRICE.

We've at last come to face what should have been obvious 2 years ago, we've taken on too big a job. The old ANARCHY was 'produced' by one person, Colin Ward. But he only edited it, all the production was done commercially.

When the old New Anarchy group took over, they doubled the size. At that time they still had the production done commercially (and ANARCHY still came out late). We first started doing the printing ourselves, then the typesetting, then the collating and binding. At this point in time all the work is done by the collective, from the first typed word to the last stuck stamp.

We are knackered, and ANARCHY is infrequent. Due to the decreased costs of doing it ourselves the financial position of the magazine is good, we have a cash balance of £450, we are owed a fortune, most of which we will never see, unfortunately, and our only debt is to our subscribers, were we to fold now we would owe £430, as near as I can work it out. We received just over £100 in donations last year, which has been vital, particularly in allowing us to keep a healthy paper stock and so not get hit too hard by the rising cost of paper. Our machine on which we used to do the typesetting is gone the way of all capitalist goods, so we've got an estimated expenditure of £150 on a new 2nd hand machine.

Reducing the price to 10p is a bit of a gamble because the new issue is not half the size of the old one, postal and paper costs have gone up enormously. BUT we hope to produce more issues per year, improve the content, and sell more.

We are producing this issue and are not making a firm decision on this new size and price till we can tell what we think having seen it, and what you think. Do write and let us know as early as possible.

As we haven't yet decided to definitely continue at this size we haven't quoted a subscription rate, nor readjusted old subs, but we're thinking in terms of £1.50 for 10 issues and crediting old subs at 1/2 copies for one. This increase in sub rates is due entirely to the increase in postal charges, having gone up twice this year they are going up again in the new year.

The Anarchy Collective.

SOCIAL WORKERS

IN 1972-1973 THE STATE TOOK 53,000 CHILDREN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 0-17 YEARS TO JOIN THE 37,000 ALREADY IN CARE, UNDER THE GUESE OF "PROTECTING" OR "CONTROLLING" THEM, BROKE UP THOUSANDS OF HOMES, AND DAMAGED 53,000 MORE PERSONALITIES PROVIDING FODDER FOR THE ARMED SERVICES, THE PRISONS AND MENTAL HOSPITALS.



Social workers are agents of the state; they don't wear uniforms - they are plain clothes cops and robbers. They supervise our homes and our manner of living. They rob us of our children, fucking us all up in the process. Controlling in the guise of protecting. Protection becomes a very sinister word...

W: WE ARE WEAK

The working class is not organised to resist repression in any area. The individual or the small group simply can't count on enough support to make resistance successful. To be sure people can find loopholes, they can find out legal "rights" they didn't know about, they can win the occasional court battle - but all this is on the enemy's terms. Uncompromising resistance is bound to end in martyrdom at present.

We must face the fact that when the needed degree of organization and determination is achieved, the resulting conflict is going to be unpleasant. It's only natural for people, however oppressed they are, to hope that improvement can come gradually and without disaster to themselves and their loved ones. We dare say that many anarchists who make revolutionary noises hope in their hearts that the revolution will never come, that the growing enlightenment and "permissiveness" will somehow blossom into a bloodless revolution.

IT WON'T. In fighting soft cops, just as in fighting hard cops, we have got to achieve the degree of readiness necessary to win a war.

VELVET GLOVE, IRON FIST. "Soft cop" means a cop who is soft on the outside. If you say no to them, and act on that no, you'll soon enough encounter the cells, and the truncheons that back up those cells, and so endanger your older children, as teenage escalation into "escape from care" into "escape from hospital" etc. It's possible for a life of "criminality" to start with children's or parents' resistance to these non-very-soft cops. In the last analysis, as resistance escalates in any situation, they are prepared to kill us to maintain their control.

So no one need think that in writing these articles we are making the usual claim that the ruling class oughtn't to behave so wickedly because it's "unhealthy", it "doesn't work" etc. We're simply pointing out another area in which a state of absolute and eventually bloody war exists between us and them. Sorry we can't say anything more cheerful, but the reason we're weak is that we won't face facts.

People seem to miss that one "good" copper doesn't mean the law is our friend - so why does a "kind" social worker abduct our brains so? The nice kind woman from the social services who is so sympathetic can learn much more about you over a cup of tea than the uniformed baby is ever going to. And she can use her information too. The way these people "drop in" informally has its sinister side - there's the inference that our time

That's all very well but..

I agree with so much in the criticism made of social workers but there are areas where social workers may not be so harmful as when they take kids into care. I know some who have organised ring-around clubs with housebound pensioners and these social workers aren't feared and have helped doing something worthwhile, although humanitarian action may not be the prime revolutionary requirement. Sure, it's nice when groups of people suffering from the system get together without the state operatives involved - one of the most encouraging features of Britain today is the emergent self-help groups. But sometimes a catalyst can help: such a person needs to be in the background and if s/he dominates it's the end, but I can see a libertarian very aware of the perils of power being quite a useful person in such a situation.

Charlotte and Kathy write of the feelings of parents who have their kids torn from them and I've worked with them in this sphere to get across that it's preventing kids going into care that is important, not taking the problem at the wrong end with adoption agencies. They are quite right to emphasise the dangers that face parents because of the Maria Colwell case - the sinister undermining of parental rights by the establishment in this area compares interestingly with right-wing espousal of parental rights when it comes to parents wanting their kids to be in the "best schools" with no black kids and where exams are pushed all the time. Yet kids do get bashed by parents; the working class is as much exploited by the authoritarian capitalist society as any other group. There is reaction, racism, chauvinism etc. among the working class and some kids get hurt far too much at the hands of cruel parents. I think there may be individual cases when children may be better off away from their parents in community homes - yes, it makes us shudder but the revolution won't be tomorrow and children are getting heads and arms broken. Anyone who loves children is in a dreadful dilemma over this question and although I'd encourage support in the community for parents, with financial and human assistance as the first priority, I can see a need for some sort of escape route for kids.

In essence we're talking about what revolutionaries should do in our society to help move it in an anarchist direction. Alex Comfort in the fifties encouraged us to go into the social sciences, Colin Ward sees the solution in going for the academics. Anarchy magazine (new series) has represented a break from this type of approach and although there are faults, there's a vigour that puts libertarian analysis to a challenging test. Some anarchists can't take it and don't want it - but it's important and potentially dangerous to the

state and authoritarian society. Comfort and Ward failed: when the crunch comes the social sciences and the academics are peripheral; the work, the vital revolutionary struggle is not there, it is in the audience. Anarchy magazine is trying to reach.

If there is a role for the social worker who is a libertarian it is in realising the way the system uses good intentions, kindness and even love for its own benefit of stabilising the status quo. In the meantime we have to live, to try and get some job satisfaction and pay the rent/mortgage and pay for those things that give us pleasure where we are obliged to pay.

Why are we weak? Because the strength of organisation is not yet established. The organisation of the people fighting and defending themselves and those they hold dear. Treat social workers and community workers carefully: our knowledge of their function and its use to the state means we can sometimes make use of them ourselves on our terms. After all fraternisation with cops has always been a revolutionary tactic.

J.

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ALTERNATIVE PROBATION

**ANGER
FIRMNESS
DISAPPOINTMENT
PATIENCE
INTOLERANCE
INVOLVEMENT
INDIGNATION
UNDERSTANDING**

Such can be the reactions
in the average day of
any Probation Officer

In the current wave of concern about the size of the prison population and the development of alternative styles of "treatment", the probation service continues to be the organisation which is most deeply involved in dealing with deviants / law-breakers, and which has to cope with most of the new penal measures intended to deal with more people outside institutions. Whilst this has meant a more flexible attitude to "treatment" within the service as a whole, it is clear that the development of the service into an "efficient" professional organisation has significant implications for its clientele.

The recent boundary changes have involved the introduction of much larger area organisations, which seem to become increasingly more remote from the people they are supposed to help. The trend in social work generally in this country appears to be towards larger more professional bureaucracies involved in dispensing so-called casework and other skills to the disadvantaged.

Several smaller organisations have reacted to this trend, and I was until recently working in a project, which within the probation service, seems something of an anomaly. The basic assumption behind the detached probation project (as it is known) is that individuals who wish to provide some form of personal support and help to others must break through the professional barrier which maintains a distance between worker and client, and become available in places, at times and in ways which are appropriate to the needs of any particular individual. What does this involve in practical terms? Within the project it

meant obtaining accommodation in an area which was reasonably accessible to others and where people might want to use the resources of a social worker/probation officer. It meant getting to know local residents in normal situations i.e. in the local pub, the corner shop, on the street. It meant providing an informal relaxed base (at the worker's flat) where people could feel at home, drink coffee and talk at most hours of the day or night. All this of course involved a new look at the traditional attitudes towards probation work and the relationships one developed with "clients".

The word "client" itself obviously becomes inappropriate when describing someone one knows well who responds as a normal human being on equal terms. I have always objected to the notion that the social work client is somehow a different creature from the social worker, with different needs and different expectations, and that the relationship one has with people in the work situation is somehow inherently different from that in one's social situation. (The distinction between "work" and "social activities" within the project became virtually meaningless.) It would seem a more accurate description of the relationship to say that one person is in a position (at that time) of relative strength is offering some form of help or support to another, who (at that time) is in a position of relative weakness.

This approach obviously contrasts with the "normal" work style of the other probation officers. But within the project we had several advantages. From the start we were given an immense amount of freedom to develop contact with whoever we wanted wherever this seemed appropriate. Unlike other officers we were not allocated "cases" from the courts and so we formed our own "caseloads". This meant that people who wanted to use us were those with whom we had some degree of compatibility and where the development of a good relationship was possible. One might have imagined that if and when the people we had contact with came into conflict with the law, our relationship with them would change in some way. This however rarely happened. It seemed that people on the whole were less concerned than we were about the conflicts inherent in the court situation and where they wanted one of us to prepare a probation report for them, readily accepted our presentation of their social and personal realities. It did mean that as a consequence of our close knowledge of individuals we were able to present to the magistrates (or judge) aspects of the person's life-style which had relevance to the offence which had been committed. For instance that an old dossier was stealing copper from derelict sites, because (amongst other reasons), the social security office was denying him his proper benefit; that

a prostitute on a solicitor's charge - is providing a genuine social service; and even that an anarchist charged with allowing premises to be used for smoking cannabis should be encouraged in his attempts to maintain the local commune! This approach not surprisingly caused some reaction amongst magistrates and others; but it hopefully initiated a greater awareness amongst them of the reality and the life-styles of other individuals and groups, and challenged some of their absolutist notions of society.

This all sounds very good, but what were we actually doing to/with individuals? The answer seems to be that one was basically responding as a concerned, hopefully sensitive individual to the needs of another human being. In practice this could mean many different things. Perhaps someone merely wanted to drop into the flat, have a cup of coffee and chat about things in general. Or perhaps it involved a much deeper exploration of an individual's life-style, of that person's hopes and fears, of his own feelings of loneliness, fulfilment, disillusionment. It might involve the encouragement of a particular activity, the development of potential in a specific area of someone's life. Or the creation of those resources which would challenge and promote growth. As a probation officer it also meant an awareness of, as it were, "reality factors", the need to accept the consequences of one's own action - that smoking cannabis for example however harmless (indeed productive) an activity in itself could result in a court appearance, with all the damaging effects that would ensue.

Clearly such an approach derives from a particular philosophy which sees the development of on-going warm significant personal relationships as of paramount importance in the growth of any individual. It also acknowledges that many people's experience of relationships has been a poor one, and that there have been few situations in which their creative potential has been encouraged, or where they have been able to make genuinely free choices. This must be viewed in the context of the sort of society we live in and has obvious implications for social work organisations. Many of the "clients" of social work agencies have been damaged from an early age by forces beyond their control. And superficial appraisal of societal structures reveals the inadequacies of the educational system, the alienating work situations, the restrictive family groupings, the whole range of inequalities in the distribution of power and wealth. Many people, especially those at the bottom of the social structure, have little opportunity to develop their potential and to avoid permanent damage. Where they become clients of a social work agency their problems are frequently seen as the consequence of personal inadequacy, disregarding the nature of their social reality. "Blaming the victim" is an all too com-

mon process in social work.

What implications does this, highly simplified, critique have for alternative styles of probation work? Clearly where it is possible to isolate particular organisations or departments which are damaging the welfare of individuals or groups it is necessary for the worker to explore the various ways of improving the situation by, for example, the encouragement of direct action. At the same time it is frequently very difficult to mobilise such activity since the consequences might be, or might be seen to be, more damaging than before. For example, one of the workers in the project appeared as a defence witness in the trial of a prostitute on a perjury charge. One of the many issues raised by the trial, which was not reported nationally, was the worker's comments on the activities of the local police vice squad and their dealings with people in the area, particularly prostitutes. It became clear that the chief constable would only consider instituting an enquiry into the vice squad's activities if he received other complaints from local residents. This seemed to be a good opportunity for the strong local feeling about the situation to be directed in a more productive way. However, no-one was prepared to make an official complaint about police activity. Not surprisingly the people most directly concerned (i.e. other prostitutes) felt (probably realistically) that they would only be subject to further harassment if they took any action.

This particular event raises other relevant issues about the function of the probation service and how far any officer can adopt a "radical" stance. It is often maintained that the function of the service is to reduce the amount of lawbreaking in society. This seems to me to be somewhat naive. Statistically it is clear that probation as such is no more successful at "curing" the offender than a fine or a prison sentence. That in itself seems relatively unimportant, if at the same time it provides an alternative to the damaging effects of institutional life, and perhaps presents the individual with some other possibilities of change or growth. In any case, I think many probation officers would feel that they were responding to the stated needs of the individual rather than to the demands of society. Whatever the official goals of the service, one could argue quite forcibly that as an agency of social control it is used to contain deviancy and "soak up" the aggression and frustration which might otherwise be directed towards more radical social change, and ultimately (perhaps) to revolution. The service acts as a negotiator between the power groups (represented by the magistrates) and its deviant members (the client). If one accepts (as I do) that social change in this country can only come about by working within the system then this "negotiating" role seems to have some positive as well as negative

aspects. Perhaps one can improve the level of communication between the rule-enforcer and the rule-breaker and attempt to provide each side with a greater awareness of the other's reality. This may not of course affect the outcome in any radical sense - the power groups will still require protection from those who threaten their security - but at least those involved on both sides of the penal system will have a clearer perception of the situation and perhaps a clearer indication of strategies for change. It may be possible for instance to challenge the validity of specific laws (for example with regard to drug taking and soliciting) and point to the frequently damaging consequences of their enforcement.

The detached probation project seems to avoid the worst consequences of being part of a social control agency. Most of its "clientele" are self-referred or referred by friends etc. and so exercise some choice in their involvement with probation officers. The principle of self-determination (with which most social workers in principle anyway agree) is vital here, and one should as far as possible avoid being directive. Within any established caring relationship there are times when one will inevitably be directive but it is clear that any individual can only develop and grow as the result of free decisions consciously made.

At the same time even the most liberal application of for instance the terms of a probation order involves accountability to the courts and the power of recall to court if the individual concerned breaks the terms of the court order. This seems to involve looking at the whole position of power in the social structure and how far it, as embodied in a probation officer's function, can be seen as a necessary part of an alternative to other penal responses. One should also consider the elements of

power and control within personal relationships and the ways in which these can be, and frequently are, abused. It seems to me that in the probation service the worker's influence in his relationship with the client derives more from his own personality and his own value system than from any external controlling framework.

In an article of this length, it is clearly very difficult to do justice to the many controversial aspects of working in the probation service, and many of the issues have been greatly simplified. It has perhaps however indicated some of the problems one has to live with if one maintains a questioning approach to the work. In some ways I felt I was living in a situation of permanent compromise, of dealing with people in situations which I found personally repugnant - such as courts and prisons. At the same time I felt that I was able to respond in a genuine way to the needs of the individuals who had experienced a more damaging environment than myself, and who appeared to benefit from support and help at times of personal crisis. In the ideal society everyone would take a greater interest in the welfare of his deviant and disadvantaged members and probation officers would become redundant.

Until people in our society adopt this approach who else will deal humanely with the thousands of people processed through the machinery of "justice"?

Dave Pickup



"Take it from me man
- you can only go so far



SOMETHING TO HELP YOU KEEP THE
FAMILY TOGETHER

SOFT COPS DOWN at the SOCIAL SECURITY



I have been a claimant continuously over two years and don't find it hard to categorise S.S. clerks and visitors, plus the "special investigators" into the category of soft cops.

Of course I know that for many of them it is the only kind of job they can get. I know the money isn't particularly good, and I certainly know they are subjected to a lot of abusive language etc. from angry claimants - but they could always jack it up on the other side of the counter that keeps them there. In any event they are very much government agents, they are working for the State in an oppressive role - and any sympathy goes (naturally) to claimants each and every time.

The very first time I claimed I was fairly green but not completely stupid. I had arranged for a friend to come with me but they didn't turn up. I had just left my husband and I was ill from a motor accident, so I was claiming because I was sick. It would have been all straight forward but for the fact that I had walked into a registry office a few years before. I had the usual long wait before I was told to go into a booth - they don't give you the privacy of not being heard, they merely keep you apart from other claimants so you lose out both ways. In the booth, (just a small glass partition in those days - the steel barriers came quite soon afterwards when the C.U. got strong and claimants became agile) the clerk opposite me realised I was to be seen by the special officer who dealt with matrimonial and paternity claims. I was told to go to the furthest booth and there met the worst S.S. clerk I have ever faced, and

me so upset and all.

He was a grimy little man and he knew his business well. It was his job to get enough information out of me about my husband to be able to trace him, and to get me to sign a blue form that said I wanted maintenance. I have never understood why a man should support a woman with no kids when they don't even live together. I also think that while we have a State and a government and taxes and all, that it should pay for us when we are disabled. But our clever grimy little man didn't start like that. He patted my hand and called me "poppy" - I felt sick and wondered what was going on. Then he talked about my husband leaving me and how he should pay me maintenance until I could work. I explained that I had left him and didn't see that he owed me any money. So he tried another tactic.....

In the state of mind I was in at that time, and not being a hardened claimant, it really freaked me out. I don't remember the exact words he used, but he hinted slyly at nasty sexual happenings that had made me leave etc. Then he casually asked me where my husband worked. It was a real relief to be asked such a simple question and I told him. Then I saw the form and realised what was going on - "No I couldn't remember his birthdate. No I didn't have a photo to give them. No I didn't want to describe him" etc. etc. No I would never sign their form, just give me the money that's all.

It doesn't sound bad does it? But unless you've been in a situation of having no money, and gone through the questioning of government officials into your private life, you can never really understand how they try to humiliate you.

And since I joined the C.U. and met so many other claimants, I have been told of and witnessed so many incidents of physical and mental brutality that I get really angry every time I hear those shits on Radio 4's "Any Answers" waxing on about the leeches that take advantage of our social security system.

It is not a lie that every pregnant woman who is claiming as an unsupported mother-to-be is told that she can't have any money to buy baby gear before the child is born in case it is born dead and the money is wasted. And the way they piss you about with the gross not coming and milk tokens being held up for the whole of a pregnancy. It doesn't seem a wild fantasy that they hope you'll miscarry and save them the money.

Maintenance comes up again with unmarried mothers. In the old days people used to say they'd been drinking and didn't know who the father was, but now that claimants have shown we do not regard ourselves as the lowest of the low, we just tell them to go fuck themselves and give us the money. They have often asked where and when the child was conceived. I think they must get a kick out of it because officially they just need a name and address and a

signature. Apart from telling them it's none of their business some claimants turn the tables on the investigator by embarrassing them: one claimant, when asked who the father was, said 'I don't know. I had my back to him the whole time!' -exit red faced S.S. man.

But it's not just that they embarrass you sexually, it's not just having people knock at your door at odd times of the day or night to make sure you're not work-shy or cohabiting: it's not just the indignity of putting in a claim for clothes and having someone go through your chest of drawers to make sure you're not cheating.

IT'S HARD WORK CLAIMING. A friend of mine was unemployed during her pregnancy, and not once in nine months did they get her money right. That means not just being broke, but countless phone calls, letters and visits to the social security until you're worn out and sick to death of the 'welfare state'.

I think on the whole I prefer the real bastards to the nice ones. The nice ones make it more difficult to argue for the full money, you can find yourself chatting away nineteen to the dozen and before you know where you are you're cut off for cohabiting or realise you forgot to tell them about your unpaid electricity bill. You know where you are with a fascist.

It's grossly inefficient and time-consuming - but that's not a mistake. What better way of keeping someone in a low paid job than having a shitty welfare system. 'However bad it is at your place of work, they are saying, it's not half as bad as being on the S.S.' 'And however bad your husband is, Mrs, he's not half as bad as us. Claimants don't get extra money at Christmas - OK, so maybe we can survive, but how do you explain to wee kids that Father Xmas doesn't come to poor houses? Sure, it's a wonderful way to explain capitalism to a four-year-old, but I don't like my kid to have no toys.

The S.S. is a moral example - 'Work hard. Love your husband. Stay healthy and Don't get old.' The system can't exist without its unemployed and unemployable, but that doesn't mean they're going to treat us well.

Like I said, they're soft cops - so keep your mouth shut, your head high and never meet them alone.

Charlotte Higgins



WHY I'M ANTI-INTELLECTUAL

Not only do state licensed brainworkers constitute a privileged class which oppresses my class directly and indirectly. Not only does the educational system support them at its expense, by distinguishing between them and a class of cheap labour conveniently defined as unskilled, unqualified, uneducated.

But the very values of these people and their educational system are reactionary and repressive in the most dangerous way - invisibly so, seeming to be neutral values that we all feel obliged to assent to, without recognising their political role. I mean such values as 'objectivity', 'factualism', 'rationality', 'knowledge'.

A reason-vs-emotion confrontation typically consists of some powerful person calmly and reasonably putting down a weak person who has emotionally complained about her or his condition. It's the wise, gracious headmistress explaining to the shamed girl why their rebellious act reflected a complete misapprehension of the situation. It's a man telling an angry woman that she is being hysterical. It's the Works Manager patiently explaining to the stupid, blustering worker why the whole industry, including the latter's job, would collapse if wages were raised.

It's easy for person A, who's in a strong, comfortable position to remain calm, and natural for the oppressed, weak person B to be emotional. But in saying this I'm not saying that a bad situation has 'driven' B to an emotional state for which s/he should be forgiven. The emotional state is not only natural but appropriate and healthy. What defeats B is the culturally-agreed-on vulnerability to 'factual' or 'rational' put-downs. If s/he could say 'I spit on your facts: you're oppressing me' the confrontation would have a happier ending.

Instead, we have been given just enough 'education' to believe that facts and logic are the only valid arguments, but not enough to be able to supply the (right sort of) facts and logic. Even if B had huddled up a lot of facts and was a clever arguer, and had also managed to restrain her or his emotion in order (unwisely) to play it the enemy's way, the lack of certification as a brainworker would ensure defeat: because even if driven to the wall 'factually' and 'logically', A could always win the argument by saying 'You have all the facts out of context

you are only partially informed - a - of course we all know that a LITTLE knowledge is a dangerous thing.

Working-class people are often patronisingly described as being 'inarticulate' in defending their interests. What this means is that, not surprisingly, the ruling class has laid down the rules of the game and then not given the working-class enough pieces to have a hope of winning. It means that B says 'Stop shitting on me, you fucking bastard' - a quite adequately articulated statement to my way of thinking - when the rules require that B suppress all anger (to the detriment of health and self-confidence) and spend months gathering statistics to prove that on the average working day the average member of Class D (Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual) has 1.3 lbs of excrement dropped on her/him by a member or members of Class A (Professional & Managerial) and that (as estimated by a leading industrial psychologist) this lowers productivity by 7%, drives .04% of Class D to crime and 3% to alcoholism; that more over in the incident precipitating the complaint the amount dropped on B was excessive within the meaning of the Act (Art.3 Para.5).

Or better yet, B should hire a Friendly Liberal Expert to gather this information. Then, possibly accompanied by the FLE, B should submit the findings to the proper authorities, together with a petition signed by several hundred concerned citizens, and request that an enquiry be conducted. If all goes well the enquiry will lead to the setting up of a Board of Arbitration composed of experts in industrial relations, whose professional qualifications ensure that their judgements will be fair and unbiased. Any tendency to bias created by the socio-economic advantages which (quite incidentally) accompany the degree in industrial relations will be completely overridden by their professional discipline and their careful training in keeping an open mind and weighing all possible factors accurately. Anyone who thinks otherwise is an ignorant clod, knowing nothing about professional professional ethics.

B then submits her/his individual case to the panel for its decision as to whether the amount of shit was excessive or just the normal allowable quota. If s/he's lucky, B will turn out to be one of the few cases decided in favour of the working class just to show unbiased the panel are - and B's boss will be enjoined to reduce the quantity to the n.s.q. (It's allowable allowable because of all the pressure management is under; because life isn't all roses, my dears; and because it's a regrettable but unalterable sociological fact that Class D must by its nature be a non-displacing ultimate receptacle of any shit going, and you've just got to be mature and objective about it and not go getting hysterical.)

This procedure as contrasted with the inam-

tulate 'Stop shitting on me you f.u.' approach is objective, factual, fair, scientific, and mainly makes sure that the shit can go on being dropped unobstructed. Revolutionary anger, with all its power, has been sent dribbling down the plughole so that the basin can be filled up with sludge.

OBJECTIVITY ISN'T OBJECTIVE.

Objectivity is a political viewpoint, and a weapon used by the strong against the weak. It teaches us to distrust our own feelings, needs, and experiences, and to rely only on information about things apart from ourselves, supplied by a remote, state-validated source.

You may say that there was a time when the scientific viewpoint played a progressive role in opposing the church. But all that this amounted to in the long run was justification for modern bureaucrats and technocrats and their theoretical monument, 'scientific socialism'. And when religion was powerful it also intimidated people with the 'learning' of its priests and sages; between the labour theory of value and the 13 locks of the Ancient One's beard there's very little to choose from a working-class viewpoint.

YOUR FRIENDLY LIBERAL CHAMPION.

But can't knowledge and rationality be put to good use? Although in the instance given above, of the liberal advocate helping out B, the advocate was participating in the system's game and only being of short-term use to B, aren't there many intellectuals and scientists trying to destroy the system? Look at people like Goodman, Illich, Lohr. And on the less theoretical, more factual level, look at all the studies of poverty, inequality, homelessness, discrimination that appear every year.

Of course I'm always glad when I see that someone like Illich agrees with me on something. It's a pity that I should be in such a poor position that I have to be tempted to quote a professor in the course of an argument. When I, who am intimately affected by the things Illich attacks, protest against them, it's not taken seriously: I'm not qualified to speak. However well-intentioned such writers may be, when they speak from their lofty positions in society, the message that comes across is 'The workers should be free (or whatever) because I say so.' The workers' own wish for freedom doesn't count without expert backing.

But what are the experts going to do about it? Why should they do anything about it? If you were the great radical Professor Blank would you be prepared to fight for a society where you would have to dig up potatoes, scrub floors, work in a factory, mind children, and be treated like anyone else? Write, yes; fight, no. Even if you did. (To anticipate readers who may point to Great Men of the past who have given up all for the cause) the revolution wouldn't amount to much if the masses on whom its success depended

lacked the confidence to play an active role in it without succumbing to expert domination of any kind.

The Friendly Liberal Champion does cure harm by holding the title of professor than all his radical books put together do good. The establishment isn't worried by radical books. All the best people are radical nowadays! All their theories can be absorbed into the system and turned to its own purposes: re-streaming because that gives working class kids equal opportunity in the rat-race which goes on unabated; or community self-help programmes run by social workers. So every year we have the broad theoretical books; the new ideas in education, social work, medicine, psychology; the factual books on homelessness and poverty; and strangely enough no revolution happens, squatting and sit-ins are made criminal, the police get more brutal, soft cops acquire more powers, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, so it will continue until people who 'don't know anything about it' except that it stinks, are prepared to tell the experts 'Fuck off and let us fight for ourselves in our own way - or if you want to join us, then give up your position and share our lot so that you'll know what you're talking about for a change.'

ANARCHOLOGISTS.

Then there are the intellectuals within the movement, whom a comrade has labelled 'anarchologists'. They spend all their time translating Herzen's letters and digging up the real truth about the Great Strike of 1874 under the illusion that they are contributing something to the movement, which they regard as a debating society or a book discussion group. Occasionally they can even show that what they've dug up is 'relevant': Kropotkin said what Schumacher says! Give that scholar a nice red apple! They are fervent defenders of the intellectual viewpoint and it's no coincidence that they also belong to the middle class.

The comrade who provided the label once made the mistake of attending a lecture at the South Place Ethical Society, where Peter Cadogan was the chairman and Nicholas Walter the Speaker. Our comrade went in a generous spirit because although he thought ill of this sort of function the topic interested him. At the beginning of the discussion following the talk, he managed to speak once - long enough to say, among other things, that he was a workingman and a believer in class struggle. He wasn't given the floor again all evening despite persistent effort. I'm sure there was no CONSCIOUS snubbery in this. It's just that a thick-accented worker who talks about class (which everyone with a large income knows is an out-dated concept) isn't one of the teddibly interesting people with whom one wants to discuss teddibly interesting things and somehow one doesn't notice him. However wildly his hand is waving about. (It might, at that, even be piquant to have a real workingman in on the discussion, if only he would avoid that Topic.)

The South Place Ethical Society is the m-

gh place for the anarchologists who as our comrade says 'have built their reputation with the trendy middle-class on the efforts of active anarchists'; I'm sure that if that whole tribe of scholarly braying hores were stuffed and hung up on the walls of the place, none of its patrons would notice anything amiss, although of course they'd have to find more such speakers to uphold their reputation for radical tedium.

CONCLUSION.

Of course there's another side to the story. There always is. There may be the odd example of a scholarly book which has been of some demonstrable revolutionary value. Emotion is sometimes based on misinformation. Scientific and technical knowledge is useful, and would be more so if made available to everyone. It's sometimes interesting to acquire a few facts, or to find a resemblance between the past and the present.

But the pre-intellectual view is so thoroughly dominant in this society, and plays such a repressive role, that the case against it needs to be stated over and over again until oppressed people are able to trust and act on what they know.

Kathy Perlo.

(Comment by Friendly Liberal Champion typeset)

Sorry about my middle-class accent, but I ain't gonna change that for no-one, sorry 'bout my slightly higher-than-average income - it does give me a bit of spare time to type for Anarchy. Answers to your questions: I would fight for a society where I had to dig potatoes etc., if that society was one in which the unnecessary, profit-making work had been abolished. In the meantime, I'd rather do boring, parasitical white-collar work that gives me time to type articles for Anarchy. Anarchology may seem overdone to people active in the movement, but its useful education to people like me on the fringes, who only read 1.02% of anarchist literature.

The intellectual often sells out in working for the System, but so does the worker who spends his life in a factory making useless crap for his better-paid, better-educated fellow-workers to advertise and sell. Statistics can lie, and, more dangerously, they can be used to mask and sanitise oppression (You ain't got a problem until our tame sociologist has measured it). But as long as you want to change reality, anything that helps you describe reality (including middle-class articulateness, scientific know-how, "liberal" concern, etc.) can be a useful weapon.

Final comment from W. Shakespeare, an intellectual and a great bloke:

"How well [s]he's read,
To reason against reading..."

I love,
Geoff.

ANARCHY IN THE NAVY

On occasions in the past, at public meetings, I have heard critics of socialism, and of anarchy, instance the running of a ship as an argument against the principle of libertarian organisation, and of non-authority. It has been asserted and claimed that it would be impossible to run a large ocean-going vessel without some kind of hierarchical command structure. No ship could traverse the seas without a captain, it has been said. And on a theoretical level, more than one supposed advocate of socialism and communism has held the same viewpoint.

In his essay *On Authority*, Friedrich Engels states quite categorically:

"But the necessity of authority, and of imperious authority at that, will nowhere be found more evident than on board a ship on the high seas. There, in time of danger, the lives of all depend on the instantaneous and absolute obedience of all to the will of one."

And even William Morris, in his essay, *Concilium*, remarks:

"An anti-socialist will say 'How will you sail a ship in a socialist condition?' Now? Why, with a captain and mates and a sailing master and engineer (if it be a steamer) and A.B.s and stokers and so on and so on. Only there will be no 1st, 2nd and 3rd class among the passengers: the sailors and stokers will be as well fed and lodged as the captain or passengers; and the captain and the stoker will have the same pay."

Ignoring the remark that, within a classless society, the wages (pay) system would continue, it must be stressed that, with the tremendous advances in technology since Morris and Engels were alive, modern ships, as well as certain types of aircraft, can now be remotely controlled and guided automatically.

This was not, however, possible until quite recent times. Moreover, it was not possible with such large vessels as battleships or destroyers in 1936. Yet, despite some mistakes and lack of organisational preparation and, of course, extremely adverse circumstances, a comparatively large number of ships of the Spanish Republican Navy did manage to traverse the seas around the Spanish coast, and the Western Mediterranean, for a number of weeks following the military up-




rising, without any form of hierarchical command structure. There was anarchy in the Spanish Navy!

In 1936 the Spanish Navy was, in fact, quite large. It comprised two battleships, six cruisers, seventeen destroyers, nine submarines, six torpedo boats and five to ten gunboats. In 1931, a majority of the officers of the Navy, like those in the Army and Air Force, took an oath of allegiance to the Republic; but most of them had no intention of working for the Republic.

Most of the officers supported, or were involved in, the Insurreccionary Movement against the Republic. During meetings between the Admirals and General Franco at the time of the Navy manoeuvres off the Canary Islands, meticulous arrangements had been prepared and thoroughly worked out for the mass embarkation of Moroccan troops to take place immediately after the uprising. But most of the Navy did not rally to the conspirators. The Minister of the Marine, Girál, had already restricted naval manoeuvres around the Canaries and the Moroccan coast. Loyal telegraph operators were, moreover, posted to the larger ships and to the Madrid Headquarters at Ciudad Lineal. But it was really the crews who thwarted the plan.

Most of the sailors were of working-class origin. They were better educated and better trained than most of their comrades ashore. They also knew how to organise themselves against the preparations of their officers. There was no Communist influence in the Navy, but on nearly all the ships, small clandestine cells, comprising mainly anarchists, but also some socialists, had been formed, made up of eight to ten sailors and RCOs. These maintained links with such organisations as the C.N.T. and F.A.I. in the ports. By the beginning of July, there was an elected Central Council of sailors on the cruiser *Libertad*. On July 13, delegates from Councils on the *Comarcas*, the *Almirante Cervera*, the *Espana* and the *Velasco* were able to meet the Council of the *Libertad* in El Ferrol, and discuss the moves they would make following a Generals' and Admirals' uprising. On July 14, they managed to establish contact with the Sailors' Council on the battleship *Jaime I*. Two days later in Madrid, Balboa, an RCO attached to the Naval Broadcasting Centre, physically removed the head of the Centre who was one of the leaders of the



officers' conspiracy. Through Balbao, during the uprising, the NCOs at the Centre were able to transmit messages to each ship, giving it up-to-the-minute information about the insurrection.

The Republican Government attempted through-out July 17 and 18 to crush the Generals' revolt by constitutional means. Casares Quiroga, the Prime Minister, repeatedly telephoned General Alvarez Baylla to resist the rebels in Morocco; and then ordered the warships at their bases at El Ferrol and Cartagena to proceed to Moroccan waters. But in most of the ships of the Spanish Navy, the officers refused to obey the orders of the Minister of Marine, Giral. He, therefore, dismissed them by telegraph, and gave power to the chief machinists. He also gave instructions for the distribution of arms to the crews. The crews, however, had in the main already acted.

The three destroyers, the Sanchez Barcaiztegui, Lepanto, and the Almirante Valdes, arrived at Melilla from Cartagena on the morning of July 18. During the voyage, the officers had heard General Franco's broadcast from Las Palmas. They prepared to join the rebellion. On arrival at Melilla, which was in the rebel generals' hands, they were ordered by the Ministry of Marine to bombard the town. They refused. The captain of the Sanchez Barcaiztegui summoned the crew on deck, explained the aims of the Movimiento, and demanded that the crew support the revolt. He was, at first, greeted with silence. Then, he was eventually interrupted with the cry: "To Cartagena!" The cry was taken up by almost the whole company. The officers were overpowered and locked up. The Sanchez Barcaiztegui raised anchor and, under the command of its Sailors' Council, left the rebel port and made for the open sea. The crews of the Lepanto and the Almirante Valdes also overpowered their officers, locked them up, and sailed out of the port. They elected Sailors' Councils which organised the running of the ships, and kept in touch with the Naval Broadcasting Centre in Madrid.

On the eventful dawn of July 19, the cruisers Libertad and the Cervantes were sailing south from El Ferrol. The destroyer Churruca had just landed a tabor of Moorish troops at Cadiz,

and the battleship Jaime I left the port of Vigo just before the uprising.

The following day, the crew of the Churruca shot all their officers. The same day, the crews of the Libertad and the Cervantes imprisoned or shot their officers, and their Sailors' Councils took over the running of the ships. But the most violent struggles occurred on the Jaime I. The crew informed the Centre in Madrid that they were taking control of the ship, and were making for Ceuta. There was, however, a bloody battle in mid-ocean. The officers resisted to the last man. The Ship's Council then radioed Madrid and asked what they should do with the corpses! They were told to lower the bodies overboard "with respectful solemnity". By midday, July 20, all the ships were completely under the control of their respective crews. All the ships then sailed for the Bay of Tangier, where they were able to stop the arrival of reinforcements, from Morocco, for the rebel generals. "The action of the sailors, by giving a serious jolt to the generals' plan, thus emerged as one of the most important events in the early days of the uprising." (The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain; Broue and Temine, p.110). In the words of the German charge d'affaires, Voelckers: "The defection of the Navy was the first thing that upset Franco's plans." (Ibid, p.119).

The crews of the ships remaining in Galicia in the north-west of the country, naturally had less influence on the hoped-for disembarkation of Franco's troops from Morocco. Nevertheless, the pattern was much the same as elsewhere in the Navy.

In Galicia, the main opposition to the Generals' revolt came from the crews of the warships in the harbours of Corunna, El Ferrol, and Vigo. The crews overpowered their officers on July 20. At El Ferrol, the military rebels managed to get control of the port, but the crew of the battleship Espana wrested control of the ship. They then began bombarding the rebel troops on shore. Unfortunately, owing to hesitations and divisions among the crew of the Almirante Cervera, which was also in the port of El Ferrol, the ship surrendered to the rebel troops. The Espana likewise raised a white flag, only to be followed by a couple of torpedo boats, all of which had overthrown their officers. This

was a setback for the anti-military forces. Many of the sailors, after they had given themselves up, were executed on the spot. El Ferrol became the main, and for a time only, rebel naval base. By September 1936, the Nationalists, as the rebels were now being called, had control of one battleship, two cruisers, one destroyer, and two gun- or torpedo-boats. The rest of the fleet was nominally under the control of the Republican government.

On August 9, a joint Catalan and Valencian expeditionary force of four transport ships, escorted by the battleship Jaime I, two destroyers and a submarine, all under the control of the Sailors' Councils, arrived at Ibiza. The workers rose up against the rebel garrison, and the island was taken over by the workers and the Sailors' Councils. But even at that early stage of the Civil War, the tide was turning against the workers and peasants of Spain, and their seamen allies. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were already intervening on the side of Generals Mola and Franco.

Between July 29 and August 5, the Germans provided transport aircraft to ferry 1,500 men of the Army of Africa to rebel-held Seville. And the Italians supplied fighter planes to protect the Nationalist merchant ships which also ferried 2,500 men and much equipment from Morocco to the Spanish mainland. With such support, Franco was able to control the Straits between Africa and Spain, as well as much of the Mediterranean coastline of Spain. The Republican fleet, at that time still run by the Sailors' Councils and Committees, was forced to take shelter in the harbours of Cartagena and Barcelona, where indeed it spent most of the rest of the war" (The Spanish Civil War; Hugh Thomas, p.316.). Stanley G. Payne (The Spanish Revolution; p.339) also notes that from about September 1936, "...the Navy remained relatively inactive ...". He puts this down to, of all things, "Communist weakness"; but comments thus:

"The Soviet Union sent comparatively little maritime equipment, and the number of Russian advisers was proportionately lower than in the Army or Air Force, though apparently two Republican submarines were commanded by Russian Officers." (Ibid, p.339).

But, despite the short period that the ordinary seamen of the Republican Navy were able to control their ships, they did at least prove that, not only very large vessels, but a fleet of ships, can be navigated on the high seas without any hierarchical command structure. Under peaceful circumstances, any ships could be navigated under sailors' control, through Sailors' Councils. Libertarian organisation on the high seas is quite a practical proposition. Engels and Morris were wrong: there need be no captain, nor "impervious authority" and "absolute obedience of all to the will of one".

Peter E. Newell.

LETTERS

Dear Friends,

Thanks for the latest parcel of 'Anarchy'. I particularly appreciated the photo of Franco and his quacks, having just gone through an ordeal in the grips of the medical profession. I may write an article on my experience sometime. Particularly NOT appreciated is the continuing petty squabble between Westall and Walter. It is boring, stupid, and a complete waste of time, effort, expense and valuable space. So no more.

Love and peace,

Ron Clerk.

Dear Comrades,

I was wondering if you have any copies of 'The Italian State Massacre' at Libertaria books. Freedom Press have republished Rocker's 'Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism', and as his books are completely unobtainable in New Zealand I thought I'd try and get a copy through you. Most of the books in godzone about anarchism are pretty fucked, Joll, Woodcock and Hoffman being the most chronic. Just taken V. Richards' 'Life and Ideas of Malatesta' back to the A.U. library - wish there was more by Malatesta available. If you have a catalogue of books you distribute, could you send us a copy, my prices plus postage of the books I asked about.

A local anarchist told me he'd sent off a letter critical of Anarchy 12. He tends to go overboard at times; he has an almost 'Healyite' approach to politics. I mean, he's quite impressed by their 'professional' approach, not their power-seeking. I was disturbed by the rules of the C.N.T. I had no idea they were so authoritarian. The uncritical acceptance of these in the article worried me. I think there is a possibility that the crushing of the Spanish movement may have been contributed to by adherence to such rules. In N.Z., information is hard to get, and this fucks any attempt to understand the events past and present of the world.

I found the Anarchy 13 issue much more relevant to the day-to-day oppression that faces us all. Quite a few people read the article 'The Politics of Pregnancy' and were impressed. Most of the Women's Liberation groups in godzone are liberal and reformist, so it's good to read something revolutionary on the struggle of women that is applicable to N.Z.

We have bought an ancient multilith 1266 press. We have no plate-making gear, but we do have plates, and we could get plates made commercially. We were thinking of putting out a newsletter using a Gestetner, and off-set some pamphlets, if apathy doesn't kill us first. I hope you have better luck with your magazine's production than in the past. The list of names in

number 12 (look) most unpleasant.

Looking forward to seeing you
fraternally,

Warry.

Dear Warandy,

I wrote the enclosed article after reading the front page story in the News of the World of October 13th, which purported to report the "Carnival of Neglect" held in our area on Saturday, 12th October. The Carnival was held in support of a demand for "General Improvement Area" status for the Nicholson/newtown area of Southampton immediately - not in 1977 or '78 as planned. It was also to protest about the poor street-lighting, dearth of phone-boxes, street-parking by out-of-town office workers, and lorries taking short cuts through our residential area. The residents also object to the prostitutes, but to say the procession was held solely against them was a wild exaggeration and distortion - typical of our "free" press - freedom to lie and misrepresent, more like.

THE CARNIVAL OF NEGLECT.

We spent the previous week working on the playground building a huge wooden telephone box (these being one of the facilities our area is a short off) designed, sawn up, nailed together, painted red, and labelled 'telephone', all by the kids themselves. On Saturday we all assembled at the playground in Northumberland Road, loaded our telephone box on to the lorry, piled on behind it, had the local West Indian Steel band on another lorry, and wound our way dancing and shouting and falling off lorries and fighting all over the area, with a long procession in tow, complete with the Wavy Navy acting about.

All the people came out on their doorsteps and waved, and lots more kids joined in. Some hairies in Derby Road blew up a huge polythene bag, and we all wore badges from the Wavy Navy people. An hour or so later we arrived, excited, hoarse, and chanting "G...I...A...NOW!!" so the whole town could hear. Mr. Mayor was on hand, complete with gold chain, and the television man got some of us on the box.

We gathered round the Mayor, to listen to his speech, and the speeches of the local dads who'd organised the Carnival. The ride home was crazy. "G...I...A...NOW!!" we chanted all the way back. Mr. Mayor had been very nice, and promised us a G.I.A. next year, so it was all successful. I think those 5 or 6 little Indian girls in their bright saris, clinging on to the side of the lorry for dear life, are still chanting now. We got home and had three cheers for the playground and for the march and for the band, and for us, and then as in all the best stories, we went home very tired and very hoarse.

But this wasn't a story. It really happened. I have lived in the area for 3½ years, and work on the adventure playground and know most of the kids. The whole procession was a Carnival of Neglect, organised by the local Community Associations to get General Improvement status

for the Nicholson/newtown area - not in 1978, but immediately - so that more money for street lights, telephone boxes, cleaner streets, and better facilities will be available. We also want to stop all the non-residents parking, and the lorries taking short cuts down our narrow streets. And the prostitutes ...ah yes ... the prostitutes.

It's not nice for our kids to be brought up so that verb crawling cars follow any woman or young girl on the streets after dusk. But some of the prostitutes are mothers in the area as well, and anyway, lets get this straight. Prostitutes don't exist to market themselves like a new brand of disposable rubbish churned out by our society. They exist because of the hatred, fear, disgust and possessiveness with which men consider women; and men demand the existence of prostitutes as a unique object to be defiled, and with which to disgust and frighten themselves at the same time. So, why ever prostitutes exist in our area, it's not our fault, and though we object, I for one know where the "blame" lies - with men, and especially with those nice middle-class family figures living nowhere near our area. And the reason I've gone on about the prostitutes? Well, if you'd read the News of the World on the day after our Carnival, you'd have seen the headlines on the front page: "SHUT OUR WINDOWS OF SHAM". And what was that bastion of the free press, the News of the Perverted Screws, to say about all that energy, all that enjoyment, on Saturday afternoon? That "Amazing Procession" became a one-click demand for legalised brothels, for titillating the morals of suburbia into how a prostitute could retire on 7 years earnings, and for a puritanical sniffing about lower V.D. rates. A little boy carrying a sign "Keep Our Streets Clean" - an innocent call for better sweeping and refuse collection - was calling for a removal of all the "Vice".

And the News of the World's contribution to the improvement of our community? - to announce that 3,000 American sailors had arrived in Southampton the night before, and then calmly to detail the exact area - complete with street names - where they should head to have their "good time".

I think of Maria who almost fell off the lorry, of Hablas whose name I couldn't get right of Marcus who bumped his head, of Chrissy who we almost lost off the 8 foot telephone box, of Valerie and Louise who won prizes, of Toli who jumped on half way round, of Simon and Freddy and Annette and Stephen who did all that sawing and of Caroline who beat me up all the way there and all the way back, and all those other kids whose names I've forgotten or don't know yet. And I look at the News of the World's "Exclusive" by Mr. Nicholas Light, and I feel revolted and sick, sick, sick.

Love,

Simon Timm.

(Slightly shortened for reasons of space: typist).

REVIEWS

SABATE: GUERRILLA EXTRAORDINARY, by ANTONIO TELLEZ. (DAVIS-POINTER, £3.50; BOOK CLUB EDITION, CIENFUEGOS PRESS, £2.35).

The subject of this book, Francisco Sabate Llopart, known as 'El Quico', was a very brave man. He was also a living tragedy. His tragedy was that he and other comrades waged war on Franco's dictatorship for over twenty years, and died violent deaths because the 'official' organisations of the Spanish working class effectively gave up the struggle against Franco.

This book does not present the type of guerrilla actions Sabate participated in as the only means of struggle against fascism in Spain, and just as well. What it does describe is an extended campaign fought, by an ever-decreasing number of anarchist militants, through frustration more than anything else.

The book perhaps fails in that it does not develop a critique of the C.N.T. The refusal, over the years, of the C.N.T. to support Sabate exposed the increasing political and moral bankruptcy of the organisation in exile.

As Tellez illustrates, the C.N.T. not only failed to support or show solidarity with

anarchist guerrillas fighting against fascism, but opposed and derided their actions. For example, the 'Anarcho-Syndicalist Groups', founded by Sabate because of a total lack of C.N.T. underground organisation inside Spain, were derided by the C.N.T. as divisive. Sabate was attacked for attempting to split the C.N.T. In fact, he was doing what any serious revolutionary should do, he created organisation where there was none, accepting that the blessed sanctity of existing organisations is irrelevant to the class struggle and revolutionary aims.

The C.N.T. was in no position to oppose the guerrillas' actions on tactical grounds either. It was incapable of proposing or propagating alternative forms of action because it had, by then, been weakened and sometimes gratefully accepting exile, lost its base within the Spanish working class.

It is, I think, unfair to criticise Tellez too heavily on this count though. The book is, after all, written in the form of an adventure story, and is both thrilling and sad. It is very well researched, although at times one suspects that the translation is not always true to the original.

One can only hope that this book will destroy some of the myths and downright lies that have surrounded Sabate since his death.

P.C. Plead.

THE NEW TECHNOLOGY OF REPRESSION -
LESSONS FROM IRELAND.
UNSR: paper 2. 30p.

Last year when I was told that this pamphlet was to appear by a member of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science I was apprehensive because of the participation in the preparation of it of one Gerry Lawless. Jesus, I thought, it's got all the hallmarks of a Rona Fields debacle. On reading the final product, however, my fears proved groundless. For this is a well-researched and useful publication. Jonathan Rosenhead, who did most of the work on it, is to be congratulated in having eschewed the more ludicrous sensationalist and counter-productive drive of the Lawless and Fields variety and on having concentrated on giving the layman a simple and readable guide to some of the new weaponry of repression at present being tested by the State for possible use in Britain.

The main contention, and a quite correct one at least, is that Northern Ireland is being used as a testing ground by the British Army and their masters in the never-ending search for yet more repressive weapons of controlling and manipulating the people. He gives an easy-to-read guide to CS gas, CR gas, rubber bullets, internment, torture - and in particular sensory deprivation - and an assessment of future

weaponry. None of this is new to those of us in Northern Ireland who have been subjected to the repression of the State in its most blatant form for the past five or six years, but at 30p its 50 pages plus illustrations do offer good value for money for the general British reader. And remember, when you are reading it, when the bastards smash my door in a 4am raid over here, it's also a test run for doing the same thing to you in the near future - Repression in Britain? It's just a shot away.

John McGuffin

(John McGuffin is an anarchist who lives and works in Belfast. He is the author of two books - Internment (Anvil Press 1973, obtainable from Rising Free) and the Guineapigs which is due to appear as a Penguin Special this autumn and deals with British Army interrogation and torture with special reference to sensory deprivation.)

Hey, that's a really disgusting egotistical blurb I've just written isn't it? Oh well, you bastards won't print it anyway and I'll not get to see a copy for over a year no doubt - hey, I've just thought do you pay your contributors, especially if they're as famous as my good self? Ah shit, there's no harm in asking, can't youse take a fucking joke?

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Helping problem schoolchildren

A special county council working party has been set up in Staffordshire to investigate the best methods of educating pupils rejected by teachers because of their bad behaviour.

One idea, from the regional branch of the National Union of Teachers, is for problem pupils to be given lessons in a special "hard case" unit and returned to a normal school when they are considered to have reformed.

Dear Leavin' Home,

A housewife must be defined as a fluctuating commodity detained and crystallised in the ideological proletarianisation of the subjectivist counter-culture. Full notice must be taken of the integral effect she has on class recomposition in the effort of the class to transform itself transitionally through ideological control of the means of production. The housewife as non-productive unit must be transformed into an instrument of true revolutionary consciousness through her participation in destruction of reactionary bourgeois mentality when her unlimited heroism will be made visible through her integral participation in the transcendent deviations of the decomposed class.

Yours Nathaniel G.
Smith-Jones-Brown.

Asked about her "quiet store" in an interview in the current issue of the magazine *Pre-Retirement Choice* Mrs Thatcher said she had been storing up food for some time.

"People tend to think of storage these days in terms of deep freezing but fresh meat won't keep in a deep freeze for more than about a year," she said. "Tinned food on the

other hand will keep for five, 10 or 15 years. What you collect are the expensive proteins: ham, tongue, salmon, mackerel, sardines. They will last for years. I have got some corned beef, too."

The home of Mrs Thatcher, the grocer's daughter, in Flood Street, Chelsea, must be bulging at the walls, for she has also laid in a lot of tinned fruits. "With the sugar shortage, this must eventually work through to tinned fruit. Also tinned jams, marmalades, honey, also big tins of instant coffee. These are expensive things. I thought everyone was doing it since Jim Slater recommended it."

Are there those without sugar? Mrs Thatcher isn't. "I've got some sugar. I came across one bag the other day with a 4jd (old money) label on it.

So that's how the
government knew
sugar was being
hoarded.

• Tweed overcoat by Deardina & Fay, £85. Green and white line check shirt by Woody Dagworthy, £13. Long fringed silky scarf by Eddie Yag, £9.50. Straw hat by Charles Barton, £8.50. All from Howie. Beige canvas shoes by Manolo Blahnik, £18.50. From Zapata, 49 Old Church Street, NW3.

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ANARCHY

10p



No 16 SQUATTING

INSIDE: Housing & Occupations

What's Revolutionary about Squatting?

ANARCHY 16

CONTENTS

Editorial - housing and occupations	1
What's revolutionary about squatting?	4
Letters	10
All-London Squatters GLC Action Group press statement	14
Tenant Beware	16

If you want to join the collective come to a Thursday night meeting at the address below.

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When we looked at the Soft Cops issue after we had finished it, we realised a need for a clear pointer as to what is our view and what is a point of view that we publish but don't necessarily agree with.

For instance, sandwiched amongst our various opinions on social workers etc. was an account by an actual probation officer - and it might be confusing to people that we agreed with him. Well we didn't necessarily 'you see'.

So, not wanting to have to write the whole thing ourselves; or to confuse people as to what we think; and also to avoid footnotes so huge that they take over completely, we have adopted the idea of writing an editorial article that gives our views on the overall topics raised in each issue. This allows us to print articles that we don't agree with alongside of things we do, we hope without confusion.

It should also, over the years, (nice bit of long term planning here) give a fairly comprehensive manifesto on our ideas as Anarchists related to practical subjects such as housing, medicine etc.

The first of these dynamic articles begins on page one, and something you ought to know is that Mrs. Watson is a Councillor on Islington Borough Council and is also Chairman of the Housing Committee. There are lots of other things that could be said about her of course, but as she keeps cropping up in this issue you should get the idea...

THE ANARCHY COLLECTIVE.

EDITORIAL —

housing and occupations

There is no housing problem. There's a class problem. "Housing problem" is a nice phrase implying that everyone is affected equally. The middle class may have to pay ridiculous rents and house prices but it's not they who end up in hostels and B&B. There are plenty of houses but the lower class, by definition those who always get the worst of everything, haven't the money to rent or buy them. The state isn't doing its job of providing minimal survival needs for its proles and since for obvious reasons this won't do, a lot of noise is being made about a "housing problem". But when and if the state gets around to ameliorating it, the proles will still have the worst of everything - including some homelessness, although kept to a "tolerable" level - and what housing is provided will be at the cost of less freedom.

Money - wage and price manipulation, welfare payments, taxes - is the chief instrument by which the ruling class determines who gets what, but it isn't the only one. Licences to "squat", that is, occupy council property rent-free, are simply another form of money, as are rent rebates (which in some cases reach the point where the tenant pays nothing), and free goods and services. Control is the keynote, and it's much more important than specific policies. Mrs Watson says "The problem with squatters is that you don't know whether they have housing need or not." Who doesn't know? Why, Mrs Watson, who everyone assumes has the God-given right to decide on these matters - not the squatters themselves, or the neighbours. The interest in maintaining control has been internalized

both by those who profit and by those who lose by it, so that most people automatically look for state solutions to problems: whatever it is, it's got to be regularized, licensed, registered, de-casualized. And the lower class are the biggest losers.

For this reason, although we appreciate the All-London Squatters' exposure of the state's divide-and-rule tactics, we must reject the statist implications of their article, namely that squatting is only excusable as a negative, desperate expedient (just as factory occupations are usually considered justifiable when redundancy threatens - as Solidarity put it, "If the bosses won't exploit us, we'll have to do it ourselves") and squatters only excusable provided they are respectable, time-clock-punching "ordinary" people who just need a kindly landlord to pay rent to. Apart from the fact that many squatters are hippies and political activists, we don't think working-class people ought to feel obliged to live by the employment-ethic and the rent-ethic which prop each other up. We see squatting as a positive step despite its limitations.

The only real solution to the class problem, as it affects housing or anything else, is to seize the means of production and life for ourselves. (This may seem obvious but so much left and even anarchist propaganda goes along with the Why doesn't the state do its job? line which is more acceptable to most people that we must draw the distinction clearly.) It's no coincidence that squatting and factory occupations would both be affected by the anti-trespass law.

OCCUPATIONS

Workers' occupations have long been a lynchpin of libertarian ideology and practice, from revolutionary Russia in 1917 where anarchists advocated direct expropriation of the work-places and total self-management of production, to Paris in

General Management, spent about a page and a half explaining why he rejected the word "democracy" and substituted "participation".) "Job enrichment" and "participation" are good economic sense for capitalism - workers who feel involved, less alienated, and who get some measure of satisfaction, are likely to work harder and be less discontented and rebellious.

Leninists, too, call for the "re-organization of industry under workers' control". But they're not talking about self-management either: what they mean is the working class, through its executive the Party, exercising control. This means more hierarchy rather than less; and it means that the revolutionary dynamic of the people is stifled. Workers' organizations become sterile and disinterested, dominated by bureaucrats and "genial leaders".

Finally, the Labour government, or at least Tony Benn, is supporting workers' occupations. It's a good alternative to nationalisation - industries that don't make a profit, that capitalists want to close down, but are in fact necessary, instead of the working class subsidising them through taxes, why not let the workers of the industry or enterprise subsidise it directly, by taking responsibility for its losses themselves through harder work and lower wages.

As we've said before, the revolutionary reply must be to aim for more occupations and more self-management, so that self-managed enterprises don't have to exist in complete isolation, and so that self-management and libertarian ideas are talked about and experienced by more and more people.

THE ANARCHY COLLECTIVE

GEORGE FOULSER

Comrade and friend to many anarchists, died from a heart attack at his home in a squat in Kilburn, North London.

His cremation on the 22nd of March was attended by about 25 people.

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WHAT'S REVOLUTIONARY ABOUT SQUATTING?

The following 3 articles have been written by members of the Kingsgate Squatters and Rent Strikers Co-operative for Self-Management.

I'm not squatting to publicise the problems of homeless people - I am homeless. I'm not squatting because I think that if enough people do it capitalism will collapse - it won't. I'm squatting because I can't afford, on my wages, to pay rent without living pretty close to poverty. In short, there's nothing revolutionary about my squatting. That's not to say, of course, that it can't be used as a revolutionary tactic, and that it can't be a powerful way of showing people the real possibilities of a different way of life.

As the industrial scene has receded from the centre of the arena of political struggle, so housing has become a more vital issue. This has happened for a variety of reasons: The nature of capitalism and its present crises mean that peoples' expectations of improving standards, and the promises of the system, cannot be fulfilled, at a time when few people are prepared to accept their parents' standards; the speculation boom of a couple of years ago, and rises in rents, rates and mortgages, and the grip of 'workerist' ideology which lays all emphasis on struggles at work, has lessened considerably in recent years.

The last decade has seen an upsurge in housing-related struggles. As the pressure on living standards increases, people have become more militant in opposing rent rises

as well as demanding better-thought-out housing plans, more consultation, more amenities, etc., etc. The people who are most oppressed by the housing problem are those without houses, and, as might be expected, many of them have responded with a more radical form of direct action - seizing the houses they need, in defiance of the councils and in spite of the squeals of the bourgeoisie.

When the squatting movement began in the late 60's, occupations were frequently aimed at publicising the chronic non-use of empty houses (100,000 in London alone). Political activists, often from middle-class backgrounds and not themselves in need of homes provided the initiative and the organisation; (many of these activists, such as Ron Bailey and Jim Radford, have since defected to 'official' bodies such as Shelter and Family Squatting Advisory Service). In more recent years, however, it is the homeless themselves, only marginally interested in the politics of homelessness, who have taken to squatting as the only solution to the cycle of degradation and poverty. Although a large proportion of squatters are still young and middle-class, the squatting movement is fast becoming a mass movement.

Inevitably, the State has responded by attempts to head off this development. Its

tactics have been typical: dividing squatters among themselves, and from the working-class as a whole; co-opting and defusing a large area of the struggle; and using the law.

Ever since squatting became popular, the State and the Media have tried to arouse prejudices: 'filthy, drug-smoking layabouts', 'never done a decent day's work', and so on. Recently the Greater London Council started a propaganda campaign to depict all squatters as 'Smash and Grab Squatters'. Their 'Shocking Proof' looks like an untidy kitchen by comparison with our photos of homes vandalised by the council to prevent people living in them. In their determination not to allow homes to anyone not high enough on their waiting list, houses that are going to be empty for several years are gutted and made uninhabitable (in spite of this many squatters do repair the damage and move in). They pretend that squatters are preventing them from housing homeless families - an obvious lie, since they own something like 50,000 empty houses in London. In short, they try to escape the responsibility for their gross incompetence and bureaucracy by blaming homelessness on the homeless.

They have, however, succeeded in dividing squatters by encouraging short-life housing organisations - the so-called Family Squatting groups, who take houses, shortly to be demolished, under licence from the council, usually for three months to a year, promising in return to hand the houses back to the councils when asked (some of these groups have evicted their members to fulfil this promise). The results of the actions of these groups have been to relieve the councils of part of their duty of housing people, often in houses in near-derelict condition, and to siphon off much anger and frustration that would otherwise be translated into direct action.

Finally, the State is at present attempting to make squatting a crime in a blanket trespass law that would also affect occupa-

The shocking proof

The evidence against 'smash and grab' squatters



tions of factories, universities, council offices and so on. Many squatters think this can only result in well-defended mass occupations, similar to those in Italy where thousands of families successfully fought police and occupied blocks of flats in Turin. Similar, smaller-scale confrontations in London have sometimes resulted in victories, as in Elgin Avenue in Maida Vale - a street that has resisted bailiffs and police on several occasions.

Without doubt, squatting has a part to play in revolutionary struggle - though at present it has a long way to go to seriously transform the way people live, and confront the forces of the State.



Council vandalism - the shocking proof!

I have lived in what Council Officials choose to call "official" and "unofficial" squats. Unofficial squats are what most people think of as squats. Official squats are in fact not squats at all, but involve paying rent to a housing organisation for a short-life council house. The choice of words is sneaky, because it implies that some squats are legal and O.K. and others are not - and this is a distinction that local councils, and the G.L.C. in particular, seem to be determined to get across to people through newspapers, television, etc. in order to justify their behaviour.

The official squat that I lived in belonged to an organisation called Short-life Community Housing (SCH). The council lends to SCH (for no money) short-life houses that it is not going to use for a while. SCH makes them habitable - i.e. mends roofs, plumbing, electricity etc. - and then charges people rent to live in them. Most people pay £2-£3 for a single room and use of communal space. What SCH does with all this money is anybody's guess - it claims to be running at an enormous loss at the moment. At best, that must mean incredible inefficiency and bureaucracy. It seems a typical example of the organisation that has "rendered itself autonomous" - i.e. the administration has become totally alienated from its original

purpose, and has become an end in itself. SCH is among the best of the short-life housing organisations - it has a no-eviction policy and a fairly democratic constitution. In practice it is not democratically run at all. Most of its tenants have become completely apathetic, probably because they are pissed off by the authoritarian bureaucracy of the office workers and the political power games that dominate its meetings. SCH has become as faceless and uncaring as the council housing department. Its waiting lists are now completely closed, and no amount of shouting, abuse, pleading, crying, or pretend pregnancies will persuade its complacent office workers that you really are desperate for a place.

Further, SCH is completely powerless in the hands of the council - if it doesn't behave itself, the council just stops handing over houses. The council just uses SCH as a convenience. It houses people that the council should be housing, and it usually hands back the houses as soon as the council wants them. This is obviously easier for the council than leaving the houses empty, and then having the trouble and expense of evicting squatters. Most of its tenants treat SCH as they would any landlord, and just hand over the rent each week. If you need some repairs, it's easier and quicker to do it yourself than to get them to do it. The only advantage of being an SCH tenant over squatting is the security - you get rehoused in another SCH house, as long as you pay your rent every week.

Unofficial squatting is at least free from such bureaucratic organisations, and it therefore has far more revolutionary potential. Unfortunately, this potential rarely seems to be realised. In the area that I live in, fairly determined attempts were made to get a squatting group going, but they failed because no-one turned up to meetings. In this area squatters are usually evicted after about three or four months in a house. There

are plenty of empty houses - it seems easier to move than to try to fight the eviction on your own. Anyway, squatting is basically a defensive act. If the landlord really wants you out, there is really no way you can stop him. Elgin Avenue appears to be an exception, where squatters and tenants have been fighting the GLC for years - but all they are really doing is looking for loopholes in the law so they can put the GLC off a little longer. They have been living under constant threat of eviction for at least a year, and the houses have become so derelict, they hardly seem worth fighting for. Most squatters keep moving, and all the time and energy that goes into looking for new houses, doing repairs, painting, etc., means less time and energy for other, more revolutionary things. Generally, the bigger and better the house, the less likely the landlord is to let you stay. The squats in big luxurious blocks of houses are just for fun, or to score a political point in the newspaper.

It is estimated that there are 22,000 squatters in London. Most of them, like me, can't or won't pay the ridiculous rents that private landlords are asking, and refuse to sit on the council waiting list for ten or twenty years. (Anyway, I don't even qualify to put my name on the list unless I have

kids, an attempted suicide, or T.B.). The councils have accepted that they can't fight the squatting movement as it is now, so they are dividing squatters into "good" and "bad". The good squatters are in official squats (usually in derelict redevelopment areas). They are approved of by the council, agree to move out when the council wants them to, and comply with any other demands made on them. In a large squat, recently "made official" by a charitable organisation, the charity demanded keys to all the rooms and the right to enter at any time. The bad squatters choose their own houses without asking anyone's permission first - and these are the ones the councils are getting heavy with. It seems a very effective way of dividing the squatting movement. Relatively few people are prepared to live in unofficial squats and be continually moved on. The official squatters can't support them for fear of losing their own places. The councils seem determined to emphasise this division, and it is probably the only way they can even begin to fight 22,000 squatters. The best way to resist is to refuse to accept their classification and concessions. There must be no divisions between privileged and unprivileged squatters. It's all or nothing. All we need is a little solidarity.





Squatting is self-help housing - seizing one's own environment without the constraints of rents, landlords, mortgages etc. As such, it offers radical possibilities for gaining control over one's own life. An empty property can be transformed according to the desires of those who live there. There is the potential freedom of space, and from the traditional ties of marriage and family. The communal squat offers the opportunity for mutual self-discovery, play, adventure, new ways of relating to people.

However, the transitory nature of squats can inhibit the desire to positively reconstruct one's environment: and so many households degenerate into squalid, lifeless crash-pads. Joy, sensuousness, creativity, become passive indifference, collective isolation. These tendencies are reinforced when the behaviour of individuals within the household is harnessed to various ideologies.

For example the "political" squats - where left-wing ideology becomes a substitute for creativity, the discussion of "politics" (separated from everyday experience) a substitute for dialogue. Why do

words hang in mid-air, stuck in the throat, never flowing freely, lyrical, laughing, joyful, a key to self-realisation'. Often the struggle to keep away the bailiffs, the perpetual external organising around this issue, begins to define the activities of the household, thus preventing involvement in the here-and-now.

The "drop-out" ideology infects many squat households. Those "escaping" from dependence on parental/family authority become dependent on, for example, the passive consumption of rock music, other drugs, gurus, mysticism etc. Hence the "untogetherness" of some squats which no longer reflect a refusal of constraints but rather an inability to cope. If we can fight the more conventional drugs such as work, HP, mortgages, surely we don't have to remain addicts. This separated, drifting existence is ever threatening squat households, especially as people come into squats through casual acquaintances as rooms become vacant.

Sexual conventions amongst squatters are hardly different from any other housing arrangements despite the "communal"



functioning of many households. Couples remain as couples, defined by other householders as such, or merely through being crowded into double rooms. The drifting never-present feeling of many squats is reinforced by a sort of compulsive "free" love - usually the desire to hold back from genuine relationships and become "involved" in casual, superficial, basically sexist encounters - quantity wins over quality.

Without being too pessimistic, it ought to be said that squats as such are by no means radical, self-managed and free in themselves. Changing the lock on the front door does not ensure that capitalist, commodity relations are not free to enter the new household. Perhaps before considering moving to a squat it is worth considering:

- is the short life of the place and the threat of eviction really worth not paying the rent?
- don't squatters share the same passions, anguishes, and joys of their council tenant, housing association, private-rented and mortgage-paying neighbours?
- is it really such a crime for 1 person to occupy say 2 rooms and for "couples" to

have their own larger space? Is this being selfish, making people homeless? Surely it is the councils, government, and property speculators who monopolise space, not the homeless and badly housed. Look at the way "responsible" organisations like SCH (Short-life Community Housing) crowd people into poky little rooms.

In a world defined by power no-one is free, living in squares or anywhere else. It is this lack of freedom and sense of powerlessness which continually drives people on to seize territory for themselves - from refusing to pay the fare in the crowded underground, to factory occupations and rent strikes. Only when people everywhere recognise their lack of freedom and act for themselves will we see a world reconstructed according to our desires - play cities, territory organised for the joy of living, dancing over the graves of the environmental bureaucrats and their pathetic fall-out (from MSM hacks to the Ron Bailey anarchists-liberals).



Squats of a squat - how many of you living in a £15-a-week flat have got a bathroom like this?



LETTERS

Fellow Workers,

I just consumed your magazine Anarchy recently. A friend and fellow worker, Orlie Markholt, brought it back from the September General Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World. She recommended it highly and I've just got around to borrowing it from her.

I have no idea how old the issue is (no. 12) or even if your collective is still publishing. I would like to subscribe to it and would appreciate it if you could inform me of all the grisly details as regards price. Do you have a US distributor or should I send money directly to you folks? Should I send check, money order or cashier's check, cash, gold, beads and trinkets?

Albert Meltzer's 'The Labour Movement in Spain' was really fine. All of the Tacoma Wobblies/Degenerate Anarchists are deeply inspired by the heroics of the Spanish Anarchists and Workers. Your readers might get a charge out of Sam Dolgoff's book 'Anarchist Collectives - Workers Self-Management during the Spanish Civil War'. If you haven't already reviewed it it's available from 'Free Life Editions', 41 Union Square West, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Worker dissatisfaction with the economic system, here, is reaching epidemic proportions as evidenced by the current wave of strikes. I wish there were more English language publications by Anarchists. There will never be too many. I have yet to encounter one that is up to the quality of yours.

Here's hoping we'll soon be putting the boss class' magazines out of business.

Yours for Anarchist Communism
Terry L. Dennis.

Comrades,

Well well, you have come out with yet another issue, amasing. After the last issue, with articles on feminism and anarchism, and the issue on Spain, this latest endeavour was a bit dissapointing yet several of the articles saved it from complete importance. These articles were: The Builders Labourers Federation story, which gave us a good introductory glance at what a 'militant' union 'is' and 'does'. Whose Revolution Betrayed, Trotsky, was good as an introduction to the 'statist' Trotsky. The short on Voline and Trotsky was nice personification of Trotsky's opportunism and would I be correct in assuming you reprinted it from News from Nowhere, which I work on. Not being malicious or anything just curious as to whether you translated it yourselves or reprinted it from us, if so why no credit in the introduction? The short in itself is quite a popular reprint. It recently was also reprinted by Solidarity in Philadelphia, Penn. USA. The open letter from the Anarcho-Feminists was excellent.

Now the complaints. Prospects of Anarchy was a liberal piece of shit. It strove to mix 'Anarchism' with 'Alternatives' or 'Counter Culture'. It is an essay on an interesting mixture, of what I can gather, the author has consumed recently as 'Culture and Entertainment': books, theatre, tv, essays, etc. I really doubt that this article was sincerely trying to find the present historical and social movements and conditions for a revolution, if it is the author is either a raving academic liberal or an idiot reporter for a capitalist newspaper. More than likely though our unknown author is the prime example of some libertarian writer for some pacifist paper calling itself 'anarchist'.

The author tells us that a variety of liberals (some more radical than others rhetorically and action wise) from Abbie Hoffman and Richard Neville to Norman Mailer are all prime objects and transform-

ers of anarchist thought. And that old anarchist Henry Miller has libertarian potential or that Alex Comfort is challenging and investigating sex roles (his book 'Joy of Sex' should be the bedroom guide of all real revolutionaries, because it tells us how to bind and constrict our lover, our lover has to be female, (the book contains smears against gays), she should submit to the male so as to 'please' him, drugs shouldn't be used, etc. Need I say more about how backward, sexist and dangerous Alex Comfort is).

I could go on and on, explain more and more of the articles use of liberals to pose to us as anarchist alternatives in the system. However, the article shows its bankruptcy not only in written examples but in the graphic of the 'True Female Personality' now I assume this is a joke on someones part, however I have a slight twinge of doubt looking back at the article surrounding it, and that article praises sexist men consistently and constantly, tells us we should look at them as revolutionary examples, never talks about women, or the womens movement except for a blurb of how the Civil Liberties has a handbook on 'Womens Rights'. Big fucking deal.

However the author indicts himself (and assume its a male as a woman would have told us more about the importance of the womens movement) when he says: 'The Young Liberals policy in general, as expressed in 'Scarborough Perspectives' is of special interest to anarchists'. The author then uses the word 'Libertarian' throughout, tossing it this way and that calling liberal human rightists real 'libertarians', etc.

If the author wished to express hope, and amazement at the struggle we are all involved in to free ourselves from capitalism and the state then an article on the anarchist groups like Black Cross or Solidarity or the European Comrades and their struggles or our sisters in their struggles would have served much better, however I take it that

the author was trying to reach the people who don't believe in the state, vote liberal, and think workers are reactionary and women are something you fuck. If those people are anarchists then I am not, and if Anarchy magazine continues to publish such anti-people articles then you might as well pack up cause you have just proven the bankruptcy of the ideal of anarchy.

'Why workers control doesn't work in Yugoslavia', was good again as an introduction, however I hope you will run more documentation on the Yugoslavian situation of workers control, in the future.

The only other two articles which I thought were useless and a waste of space were Nicholas Walters reply and the reply to the reply. Totally personal attacks on each other are really not necessary in a journal, however it is up to you to run them if you feel inclined, but I do think that when they get to the point of something that could be settled face to face, then I get lost in the problems of the movement in England and thus I flip the page only to find by Bakunin's beard, none other than that old stalwart of Canadian literature: George Woodcock.

Now the Woodcock/Meltzer debate I can enjoy as Woodcock loves to use his pen like his vocal chords and go on and on expressing himself, however I really have to doubt his sincerity. I mean George do you have to defend yourself, and calling 'Anarchism' outdated and a call for the 'new anarchism' is really quite a way to avoid defining what is going to be 'new' about your concept of anarchism. However since you personify yourself as Bakunin at the beginning of your article I take it you carry your personification of people and ideology through to the end where you attack Marx or I mean Meltzer as a centerist/statist a la Joe Stalin McCarthy. Gosh that's the classic line used by every Canadian liberal who cries when someone says 'shut up you're rocking the boat' or hurting my feelings. So I take it Meltzer must represent the 'old' anarchism and you

the 'new'. So if this is true and you are moving towards the new and Meltzer the old, what is the difference? Well could it be that the new anarchism is Prof. Woodcock, great Canadian Literature Prof. is this what we should do, those of us that are Canadian anarchists, are you going to be our new Bakunin leading us through the halls of academia, to our rightful place in the Liberal Canadian State. What are you personally doing George besides writing for the Bourgeoisie? I mean 'Books in Canada' is not exactly the best loved magazine among the working masses in Canada. What are you doing George besides sitting on your ass? How many anarchists in Canada do you know or have contact with? Why haven't you communicated your solidarity with us and your involvement in building this so called 'new' anarchism? We are struggling here by ourselves, in our workplaces, in our communities, stressing the need for people to control their own lives. At the same time we in Canada are building our groupings in the cities, publishing magazines, pamphlets, propaganda etc. What are you doing to help us George? Is your 'new' anarchism sitting on your ass getting government grants or state controlled teaching jobs in state controlled processing centres called university? Have you helped organise the young anarchists around you at UBC or Simon Fraser? What have you done, dammit George?

And what has Meltzer done, well he has struggled with Spanish Comrades and other European comrades to build an active anarchist resistance movement in Europe, that's 'old' anarchism I guess.

Now George the differences between you and Meltzer aren't just opinions but opinions and ideas based on and carried through in action. George you represent nothing 'new' just the same old passivity and liberatness that is so much part of the Statist Canadian Culture; you represent Trudeau better than Bakunin. When you get off your ass and engage in some action here in Canada, then

maybe your concept of 'new' anarchism will have some relevance, however at this moment you, your analysis and your call to a new anarchism are where they originated from, on my bookshelf labelled anarchist history.

Well I guess that's about it for my complaints. We here are actually pleased with the endeavor to make anarchy as a mag at last. You were doing well till this issue, since your hearts weren't really into it your forgiven, lets try not to drop the quality anymore.

Keep up the struggle.

Yours for generalised self management
Eugene Plawuk.

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MESSAGE

Dear Sir or Madam,

It is time for our library to bind your magazine, ANARCHY. This small task has been rendered difficult, if not impossible by the system (or lack of one) that you use to assign volumes and numbers to your issues.

After vol. 30 (1970) our records are in chaos. We assigned new series 2 vol. 1 nos. 1-11 to the year 1971. Is this correct?

Worse yet, the last 3 issues we have received have no volume, no number, and no year! Could you help us out?

To make our records accessible to the greatest number of people, it is vital that our records be clear and accurate. Any help you can give would be appreciated.

REPLY

DATE

SIGNED

Jeryl A. Davis

REPLY TO

It goes like this — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,
9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16..

SIGNED

A.N. Archy.

20-11

THIS COPY RETURNED TO SENDER

WRITE FOR ANARCHY

We would like some articles from you. Possible forthcoming topics for Anarchy are Ireland, Doctors, and Anarchy and Organisation but if you can think of a topic you would like us to print, go ahead and write about it. We can't use articles that are too long or too academic, and we don't usually print poetry. So instead of complaining, how about doing a bit of work yourselves and writing your own Anarchy instead of expecting us to do it for you.

ALL - LONDON SQUATTERS GLC ACTION GROUP PRESS STATEMENT

Issued at Press Conference 11.30 a.m.
Tuesday January 28 Roebuck Pub.
Tottenham Court Road. Read out by
a spokesperson for the Action Group.

"Smash and Grab Squatters" are a bogey
created by the GLC in a hysterical attempt
to blame squatters for the housing crisis
and whip up hatred against them.

It is not the actions of the homeless but
those of GLC, Councils, Speculators and
Government which are to blame for the
housing crisis.

Squatters are generally just ordinary
working people who are homeless because
they cannot find suitable accommodation at
reasonable rent. They are the "Can't Wait
Homeless". No-one should have to wait for
housing. There are 100,000 good empty
properties in London which should be taken
over for all the homeless.

The GLC's idea of reasonable squatters
is people who will voluntarily make them-
selves homeless at Council's request.
Those who demand Housing For All are
labelled "Smash and Grab".

The GLC's attacks on squatting spell
grave danger to many more than squatters.
The effect of the Law Commission propo-
sals on Criminal Trespass which are backed
by the Labour GLC would not only make cri-
minals of the homeless but would make pro-
test occupations and pickets by students and
trade unionists imprisonable acts; and
would also give the police on-the-spot pow-
ers to decide on complex landlord-tenant
legal problems which could result in
immediate evictions.

Accusations that squatters smash houses
are absurd. The squatting movement is
opposed to all forms of vandalism and
makes great efforts to repair the large-
scale deliberate vandalism of GLC and
Councils.

We have many examples of GLC vandal-
ism and keeping of houses empty for long
periods without reason. For example in
spring last year GLC deliberately destroyed
the inside of 111 Walterton Road Paddington,
for which there were no plans, just before
squatter families were to move in. The
GLC smashed the lavatories of 60 flats in
Ritchie House North Islington. This is a
commonplace method for making houses
uninhabitable, used by GLC and Councils
all over London. In Stepney whole streets
of houses are bricked up to make them
unsuitable. In Heathfield Gardens Wands-
worth good Georgian houses have been
empty up to 8 years. Similarly GLC blocks
of flats at Northampton buildings South
Islington have been empty for years.

Damage to gas fittings and so on in War-
wick Avenue Little Venice revealed by GLC
last week is deplorable whoever did it but
the giant GLC propaganda machine is shed-
ding crocodile tears over blown-up and iso-
lated incidents. The hard facts about this,
the centrepiece of GLC's attack last week,
are that the Warwick Avenue flats were not
renovated for the real homeless of London.
They were originally renovated for the High
Rent Accommodation category. This cate-
gory was abolished by the Labour GLC but
although they reduced rents rich professional
people with expensive cars are still moving
in. Displayed here we have a photograph of
a Mk 10 Jaguar outside its owners house -

the GLC Warwick Avenue flats Little Venice,

We give warning to the so-called-socialist GLC that all people in London who are concerned with the fight for decent housing for all will not sit back and allow squatters to be evicted and used as scape-goats for the decrease in housing standards and cut-backs in housing programmes which keep hundreds of thousands of people in squalid conditions. The London squatting movement will move onto the offensive against GLC.

We are launching an inquiry into GLC housing policy. Findings will be made public and backed-up by action. The items revealed at this Press Conference are early results. a detailed report will be made at a Housing Crisis Conference organised by All London Squatters to be held in March. We welcome Trade Unionists and Tenants to join us in this inquiry and Conference.

We are starting a campaign for a programme which the so-called-socialist GLC and Government should support if they care about the homeless.

Our basic demand is: No Evictions - Decent Housing For All: AND all here includes single people and childless couples.

So we demand, as a preliminary programme:

- Immediate requisitioning of all empty property for the homeless.
- A crash programme of repairs, rehabilitation and building on derelict space.
- The financing of housing programmes by cash grants and interest-free loans from central Government. The high interest re-payments by Councils to City financiers must be stopped. (FACT: 90% of rent income of GLC is spent on interest re-payments.)
- Democratic control by area conferences of Tenants, Trade Unions, and Squatters organisations over all housing and devel-

opment plans and usage of empty property.

Concerning Elgin Avenue Paddington, the GLC "offer" of alternative accommodation made in August was unreal. It consisted of derelict slums in the main which were bricked up and had holes in roofs. The Paddington Federation of Tenants and Residents and Westminster Trades Council together inspected these properties, mainly in Jubilee Street E1, and agreed they were not good enough. Housing standards must be maintained.

Even after Elgin Avenue Squatters won the High Court Appeal against eviction in October they made it absolutely clear to GLC that they would be happy to leave immediately if given adequate alternatives. It is the GLC, not squatters, who have deliberately caused delay and according to their own figures have as a result wasted £150,000 of ratepayers' money rather than be seen to provide adequate re-housing.

It is absurd to describe the 200-odd squatters in Elgin Avenue as not being homeless but as "hippies, drop-outs, political agitators and young tourists". People in Elgin Avenue are typical of London's homeless. They have jobs, include families on and off the waiting list, and old people, and have been there up to 3 years. Some families have even been referred there by Westminster Council social workers rather than to degrading Bed and Breakfast.

We warn that if the GLC attempt to evict Elgin Avenue, the eviction, which will be the biggest ever in Britain, will be physically resisted behind barricades.

Concerning Charrington Street Camden, the GLC issued 5 summonses for Court eviction proceedings on Friday. This we see as the opening of the first of a series of struggles in which the housing movement will fight the GLC's attacks on the homeless.

Tenant Beware

You may have heard of and even participated in residents' or tenants' associations. They vary from 1) a group of upper-middle class owner-occupiers who get together as a protection against people moving into their area who might lower the tone and more importantly, the house prices!

2) tenants who get together either because they have a common landlord or who live in a re-development area and are fighting for a good deal for all.

There was initially a small tenants group in our road, around a common and notorious landlord, this was extended to include all tenants when the council voted to compulsorily purchase the street with a view to rehabilitation. We got together for two main reasons - protecting ourselves from harassment by the landlords (they get more for an empty house) and to make sure we get a fair deal from the council when the time comes. The council suggested we form a tenants association; ward councillors offered us help in setting it up and a bloke from the local law centre came to meetings to help us with legal points and general advice.

This is where I think the tenant must beware, because tenants associations have become the new radical thing for politicians to seize on; Islington Council, which really fancies itself as a radical body, has got its very own Participation Officer, who will assist tenants in forming associations with a chairman, treasurer, secretary, minutes and rules, to fight for such revolutionary aims as choosing the colour of your front door and forming vigilante squads to beat (up) vandals.

It is hard enough anyway for tenants to form a group in which it is not just the good speakers who get heard, and where everyone one's interests are given a look in. But with an outsider included, be they councillor or

lawyer, I think it's even harder. That isn't to say that legal advice isn't always useful, for instance in tenants rights of occupation; but when it comes down to it and the landlord knocks your bedroom wall down (true story) while you're out at work, all the harassment officers in the world (and Islington Councils got one of them too) aren't going to put it back for you.

When fighting over housing; to stop harassment and evictions; to get a decent place to live, in the area you want, from the council; it takes a group of people who have a direct common interest, who are not taken in by council promises, and who are prepared to stop an eviction with force. This sort of action isn't going to come from mealy-mouthed liberals who have an image to keep up, the fence sitting pseudo-radicals, who fill the council chambers and law centres.

It's a daunting prospect at first fighting several landlords, and the council, and the owner-occupiers all on your own - but we aren't on our own, we are several hundred. Oh we haven't got experience in the council's games but if we don't try to play their games we'll be alright. They want delegations - you know a few tongue tied tenants versus the housing committee; nuts! They want residents (they're the owner-occupiers) and tenants (us) to form a joint committee; nuts again!

It's very easy to be taken over, it's easy for the eloquent few to become leaders and make deals, it's hard to get everyone interested, it's boring knocking on doors in the pouring rain to drum up enthusiasm for a meeting, it's difficult to make sure that the needs of the few are fought for alongside those of the majority etc. etc. but it can be done; it must be done if we are ever to realise our needs and desires - and basically the struggle begins at home.

Charlotte Baggins.



DON'T ROT
SQUAT!

THE HOUSES BELONG
TO US —
THE CITY
IS OURS